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required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

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In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[18] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*marama ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *hoho* pudding which formerly was provided.

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The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga;* each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga;* the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

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Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

[18] Rils of coconut leaves.

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THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*).

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, especially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

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the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly. They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

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The following are words of abuse: 192

Mbakola. A man killed to be eaten. Formerly it was serious and only used by a nobleman to a commoner, by a man to his very own subjects (*nona tamata sara nga*), or to his younger brother; now it is merely a jest.
Kaisi. Lowborn, is common in anger and in play.
Kawa ni moku. Descendants of the defeated. This is seldom used, and only, it appears, in earnest, to persons of whom it is true.
Ndomi lairo. Suck crabs. Apparently a Thakaundrove expression.

An oath is *mbumbului* or *vosa mbumbului*. Men formerly swore by the chief of the family (*turanga ni yavusa*), the one who governed them. If a man was accused of anything and protested it was not true he would say: "I swear by Tui Naiau" (*au mbumbului vei Tui Naiau*).

Sexual Relations and Marriage

Morality

Sexual intercourse is called *veithai*, a word forbidden in presence of women, before whom the term *veindauthi* is used. The word *vala* (to do) is also used as a euphemism. The words *uti* and *pia*, which mean penis, are also not used in the presence of women; the polite term is "a man's thing"; or a woman "a woman's thing." 195 834

Morality is very lax in Lau. Bastards are very common in the pedigrees. Lau has a reputation for laxity throughout Fiji, and the men of Viti Levu are mad about Lauan women. This is the answer a Lauan makes to this charge: 834 848

Lau has a bad reputation because of Tongan ways: men and women talk to each other, and may walk together in the dark without anything being thought of it. They may go together at night through the village from one house to another; it is only bad if they stop and talk outside. In the West it is forbidden even to talk to a woman, or the owner of the house is silent with jealousy. If a man goes and sits close to a woman and she does not shriek and run away, it means she is ready to accept his advances. Yet there is more fornication in the West; but Lau has a bad reputation because the western people do not understand the freedom. Western men coming to Lau waste a lot of money because they think a girl likes them because she talks to them, and they give her plenty of money, but get nothing for it. 834 186

There is a tremendous amount of fornication in the West. There the women are shy and wild. If the man whom a woman likes is in the house, she does not enter, or, if she does, she sits in a dark corner; it is as though she were *sake; sake* means that a woman will not speak to a man whom she likes, or, if she speaks, laughs and is ashamed; in Lau this is the way of immature (*yalowai*) children, not of adults: adults talk together and are not shy. In the West women are like pigs: a man will send for one, or, if he meets her on the way, will lay hold of her: she cannot refuse. A Lau woman will refuse to go with three or four men; she will accept the advances of a man she likes. Women in the West look countrified (*kai lekutu*); here they make kava, roll cigarettes for men and no harm is thought of it.

Formerly young women used to stay in the father's house, and not go about, or if they went about it was in company. Now they go and sleep in the young men's 834